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ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :

THE subject of Rail-Roads, though not new, has not been much discussed in our community. The feeling of wonder, with which we all looked upon the first experiments in this seemingly magical and perilous mode of travelling, has been followed by a feeling of yet greater wonder to find, that a country so deeply furrowed by impetuous rivers, so thrown up into mountains that pierce the clouds, is, nevertheless, almost as passable, in every direction, as a prairie. The arrival or departure of a car still attracts a crowd of wondering spectators ; to take a seat in one, has something of adventure in it ; the very cattle on the hills start off alarmed as it flies by.

Though somewhat familiar to us, therefore, the subject has hitherto presented itself chiefly as a phenomenon—a miracle of Art—a striking illustration, at once, of the powers of man, and of the provisions of Heaven for their expansion in the New World.

The actual and ultimate effects of this improvement in the mode of conveyance, upon the condition of the country, have been too little considered to lead to any intelligent and uniform public opinion. Indeed, it requires a good deal of attention, more than most of us are able to give to any thing beyond the sphere of our daily duties, to form any consistent and comprehensive idea of these effects. The complicated operations of an active community are not easily understood. The greatest mistakes are constantly made, in reference to them, by very sensible and reflecting men. Scarcely an act of legislation, of any importance, can be said to be fully understood, in all its bearings and consequences, by the wisest politicians. Nothing is more common in history, than to find both the hopes and fears of sagacious and honest men disappointed ; nothing more instructive, than to see how often systems of public policy, which have been pursued with enthusiastic confidence, are, at last, disavowed and condemned by their advocates. We are taught, by such examples, the danger of relying on hasty and partial views of public measures, and the importance of patient consideration in forming our opinion of public enterprizes.

Since the attention of our community has been called to the subject of a great Northern Rail-Road to connect the Capital of New England with the Canadas, large portions of the people have been disposed to question the utility of Rail-Roads altogether, and particularly in New England.

The construction of such Roads is proposed as a public benefit; the community are called upon to engage in the enterprise, and capitalists are solicited to subscribe for stock. Now, undoubtedly, the burden of proof rests upon the advocates of the undertaking. And what have we to say? We have to say, that the easier and cheaper our modes of conveyance are, the better it is for the country.

We possess a vast territory, extending through many degrees of latitude, and affording the peculiar products of almost every climate. In one part of the land flourish the cane and the rice plant and the cotton plant; in another, maize and wheat; in another, are grown timber and wool. In different portions are found distributed the various minerals, valued for use or ornament. On the coast, the fisheries are carried on; in the interior, the fruits of the earth are gathered. From the ports, the harvests of the sea are diffused among the millions, who consume them in the heart of the land:—to these same ports are brought, in return, the surplus products of these millions, to be thence conveyed to other quarters of the world. Not a ship is launched which is not constructed of materials brought together by commerce. The ribs may have come from the oak forests of Carolina; the masts, from the mountains of Maine; the sails been woven from the hemp of Tennessee; the anchors and screws manufactured in Massachusetts, from iron dug out of the bosom of Pennsylvania; and the copper, mined on the shores of Lake Superior. Not a house is built—not a machine is made—not an acre tilled, without involving the labor and expense of transportation.

From the Constitution of our Government and the habits of our people, this expense is proportionally greater among us, probably, than in any other country. We are peculiarly a traveling, migratory nation. The travel to and from the common centre of Government, including that of the public officers, parties in the Federal Courts, applicants for place, or justice, or privileges, the interested and the curious of all classes, is immense. In addition to this, the Capitals of the several States and Territories, attracting multitudes near and remote; the transmission of mails; the conveyance of military forces and public stores; the removal of families from place to place; and excursions for health or pleasure, for the transaction of business, or the indulgence of the social affections, augment the amount of inland transport, probably, beyond our most liberal conjectures.

The business of transportation of persons and products is, therefore, a very great business, employing large numbers, and requiring an immense amount of capital. Hardly any feature of our society is more remarkable than this domestic commerce. Were the apparatus at all times in operation to effect it, brought together, like that of a manufacturing establishment, in convenient central places, the amount would astonish us. The mere traveling expenses of a family, for a series of years, are among its more considerable outgoes. What it pays besides, indirectly, and unconsciously, for transportation, what is deducted from all it has to sell, and what is added to all it has to buy, for freight to and from market, if reckoned up by itself, and separated from every thing else, would startle and terrify an economical man. A middling farmer in Lebanon, by actual calculation, transports to and from Concord, in the articles of beef, pork, mutton, wool, cheese, grain, molasses and salt, about five tons. The expense per hundred is half a dollar; and the total amount, of course, fifty dollars. To this should be added what he pays for transportation, in the price of all his purchases at country stores. Suppose it, however, to be fifty dollars. The number of families in town may be four hundred. If half of them average this amount of transportation, the whole cost would be ten thousand dollars a year. The amount of transportation by the merchants of Montpelier, as appears from their report, for the last year, is more than twenty-five hundred tons, which, at the rate of eighty cents a hundred, is forty thousand dollars. If we take these towns as exhibiting the average transportation of places similarly situated, we see, at once, that the tax imposed upon us for the mere conveyance of materials and products is a vast public charge; and when added to the expenses before mentioned, for travel and communication, may not improperly be considered as an immense burden upon the national industry. And yet, the national production is not increased in quantity by all this expenditure. Could transportation be reduced to nothing, the same soil, the same mechanical power, the same human labor would produce exactly the same amount for the supply of our wants, and the indulgence of our tastes. And all the capital and industry now engaged in transportation, merely to carry us and our products from place to place, without in the least changing these products themselves, would be at liberty to be employed in actual production. The productive power of the country would be just so much increased; the wants of society just so much better supplied; the wealth of the country so much augmented.

In this view, the matter seems almost too plain to be argued. Considering the country as one, and its prosperity as the aggregate prosperity of all its parts, making no distinction of New England interests, or

the public sentiment has hardly been divided. From the settlement of the country, the improvement of harbors and rivers, the erection of light-houses, the construction of locks and canals, and the opening of direct and easy roads, have been leading objects of legislation and expenditure. It is not to be supposed, that all this care and expense have been idle and mischievous; that it has all gone upon mistaken ideas of policy. But if not, on what ground is a Rail-Road to be condemned? If modes of conveyance are desirable in proportion as they are perfect—in proportion as they diminish distance and facilitate transport,—if the more we carry and the quicker we can carry it, the better the road, because the better it answers the very end of all roads, on what principle can we oppose that which comes so near to annihilating distance and friction altogether?

One of the most remarkable features of our country, and indeed, of the surface of our globe, is the valley of the Mississippi river. No adequate estimate can be formed of its extent and resources; figures can hardly calculate them. But what would all that expanse of fertile and blooming intervale be without the river itself? what the river, without the steam engine stemming its mighty tide? Is a navigable river, then, a blessing to a country? Is a vessel, propelled by steam upon its waters, useful? And why not a Rail-Road a blessing? why not a vessel propelled by steam upon the land useful? If it carry us along with equal safety, and equal rapidity, and equal cheapness, what makes the difference? If it convey us securely and smoothly over tracts of earth, where nature has cut no channels for the rivers, is it any the less a blessing for that?

There is yet living in Hanover, a lady, who five times travelled from that place to Boston, on horseback, before a wheel had passed. There are merchants in Montpelier, who have transported goods from Boston, by ox-teams, taking four weeks for a trip, at an expense of sixty dollars a ton. Has nothing been added to the prosperity and improvement of the country, by all that has been laid out upon roads since? Have our increased facilities for traveling and transportation injured the farmer, or the mechanic? Would real estate in Vermont rise, if the public roads were neglected for five years? Would business flourish all the more, if stage coaches were disused? If past improvements in transportation have not been evils, why should further improvements be so? But, admitting the general advantage of good roads, is it not manifestly impossible to deny the utility of the most perfect and cheapest of all roads? Still there are objections to them, which it requires no great ingenuity to state with some appearance of argument, but which are, certainly, groundless.

It is objected that the very greatness of the amount of transportation required by the business of the country, is itself proof, that the country cannot be benefited by the substitution of Rail-ways for the common roads. For, it is said, this vast transportation calls for a corresponding amount of the means of transportation, horses, carriages, and public houses. These, again, open a market for our country produce, and furnish work for mechanics, harness-makers, wheel-wrights, painters, blacksmiths, carriage-makers, &c. This is all very true, and the inference, at first sight, not unnatural, that upon the discontinuance of the present modes of conveyance, the produce, now necessary to sustain them, would be left without a market in the hands of the producers.

Perhaps the best reply to the reasoning is fairly to state the whole case. Here, then, is a community requiring a vast amount of transportation, and paying a very great sum for it. Who pays this great sum? Not the particular men, who drive, or who own the teams; not the merchants, who employ them; but the producers of what is carried to the ports, and the buyers of what is brought from the ports; the men, who travel themselves, or pay others for traveling in their stead. When a farmer offers his pork or his cheese to a merchant, the merchant considers what that pork or cheese is bringing in the market, and what it will cost him to transport it. He deducts the cost of transportation and the shrinkage from the Boston price, and allows the farmer the balance. When this farmer buys goods of this merchant, in return for his pork or cheese, the merchant adds to the price, in Boston, the cost of transportation, his own time, stage-fare, board, and other incidental expenses, and fixes the price high enough to cover all these, the losses and injuries incurred on the way, and interest upon the capital laid out. Now, if the farmer, the merchant and the teamster were all the persons interested, it would be plain, that the cost of transportation would all come upon the farmer. For the transportation is all either deducted from the price of his pork and cheese, or added to the cost of the goods he buys. Be this greater or less, he pays it. The teamster and the merchant are, in this respect, his agents, connecting him with the market, and paid, by him, for doing so. Whatever he gets for his surplus hay and grain, above what he would have obtained, had there been no team employed in this transportation, he in fact pays from his own pocket. It is his transportation; and, as we have seen, paid for by him, in his dealings with the merchant. It matters not with whom he deals; he may carry his own products to market, and bring back his own purchases, or he may deal with one, who deals with another who goes to the market. But, at last, in one way or another, he who produces things, that must be transported, before they are consumed, or buys things, that must be

brought to him from a distance, pays the cost of the transport. It may escape his notice; but it cannot be evaded; other men never pay for transporting his things. What is true of one farmer is true of all. The whole body of agriculturists, comprising, in the United States, seventy-seven in every hundred of the population, and, out of the cities, a much larger proportion, are paying, in some form, the immense expense of conveying their bulky products to the market, and bringing from thence the iron, salt, flour, molasses, plaster, and other heavy commodities received by them in return.

Nor is this the whole of the burden imposed upon the agriculturist by an expensive transportation. He feels it whenever he, or members of his family, travel by the public coaches; and that in several respects—in the rate per mile, in the loss of time, and in the incidental expenses by the way. The fare from Boston to Albany, by the Rail-Road, a distance of 180 miles, is \$4; from Boston to Montpelier, by stage, little more than 150 miles, it is \$7. It now takes two days to go from Montpelier to Boston; if a Rail-Road were made, it could be done in eight hours, and the expense of living on the way nearly, or entirely, saved. The single item of time in this amount of savings is of no inconsiderable moment. Suppose the speed of the car to be but three times that of the stage coach, the same amount of travel would be performed by one third the number of men now upon the road; and three-fourths of the multitudes, at present taken from the various callings of life, and spending their time most unprofitably and uncomfortably, in being dragged over melancholy lengths of way, would be added to the industrial, productive power of the country.

Again: the farmer, in the interior, is nearly precluded, by the cost of transportation, from the use of certain manures indispensable to the highest culture of our soil. Were the freight reduced, as it would be by this improvement, lime, abundant in particular localities, might come into general use; plaster, so well adapted to many of our crops, would be brought from the sea-board in large quantities; and even the artificial manures manufactured in the cities could be advantageously carried to some distance into the country. If then our agriculture is really burdened with the transport of the products and the purchases of the farming population, how clear it is, that the cheaper this transport is made, the better it is for the farmer; how plain it is, that the supposed advantage of a market, occasioned by men and teams engaged in conveyance of persons and commodities, is a mere illusion, the receipt of money with one hand, which is immediately paid out with the other. In truth, a community no more finds unnecessary horses and carriages, good husbandry and good economy, than a single family does. And it

would be hardly more wise for a state to keep men and teams, for the purpose of eating up their surplus hay and grain, and bacon and eggs, than it would be for an individual to do so. If there is a cheaper mode of conveyance, on the whole, for the commodities of our country, than those now in use, the expenses of maintaining the dearer falls, ultimately, on the consumer, that is, on the men whose products and purchases and persons are conveyed—the very men, who imagine themselves to be getting high prices and a ready sale for their agricultural products, in consequence of keeping men and horses to consume those products.

The agriculturalist, it is true, is not the only person interested; all classes bear their part of the expense, because all have more or less occasion to travel or transport; all consume commodities, which have paid freight, and nearly all create values to be carried to a distant market. The principal weight falls, however, on the farmer and the manufacturer, because they are, both from their superior numbers and the nature of their occupations, the great producers and the great consumers.

If it be denied, that Rail-Roads are, in the main, cheaper than other means of conveyance, it is obvious to reply, that unless they prove so, they will not supercede other means; if they prove so, it must be folly to maintain the dearer.

It is, however, by no means certain that the construction of Rail-Roads tends ultimately to diminish the use of animal power in the country. These roads can be introduced only along great thoroughfares; to the line of the road, the population and produce of a wide belt of country on either side must be brought by the ordinary means; from it, this population and the commodities transported from the city, must be distributed. The reduced fare and freight will add greatly to the numbers and the amount of articles carried both ways. For the accommodation of travellers and the convenience of trade, inns and shops must be opened all along the route, so that it would not be strange, if nearly the same amount of animal power should be still required by the business of the country, while, at the same time, more distant markets are opened for our produce.

It is objected, also, that Rail-Roads tend to concentrate the business of the country in few hands; to give a monopoly to the capitalist; and that they are, therefore, anti-republican.

It is a curious fact, that every body is toiling to accumulate capital, and yet jealous of the capitalist; every body commending the industry and frugality that lead to wealth, and yet, denouncing the possessor of wealth; every body aiming at it as a great earthly good, and yet, dread-

ing the influence of it upon society. There must be some delusion in this matter; some prevalent misapprehension of the agency of capital; a misapprehension it is sad to see, fostered always by the envy and bad passions of our fallen nature, and not seldom, by the selfish arts of designing men.

Without capital, the accumulated fruits of past industry, what could future industry effect? Want of capital is, at this moment, one of the obstacles to the progress of agriculture itself, as well as of all our other pursuits. Business is often conducted to disadvantage for want of means; men may be too poor to be economical. Without the use of capital, we tend backward towards barbarism. The difference of successive ages is not chiefly in numbers, or physical strength, or native intellect; it is even more in MEANS, in resources multiplied by preceding industry and ingenuity, and handed down from one generation to another. The same skies are ever above us; the same soil opens its bosom to us; the same agencies of nature minister to us. But how widely different the condition and prospects of ages distinguished by the extremes of poverty and wealth. Under a stable government, capital, rendered safe by the administration of law, labors for us as truly as human minds or human hands. What else erects the noble structures of useful art, which protect us in war, and accommodate us in peace? What else clears the channels of the rivers, walls out the fury of the seas, maintains our armies and navies, and supports the government and the schools? What pays all this untold expense? What feeds and clothes the industry, busy every where, and every where cheerful, in the thousand offices which execute the vast enterprizes of individual and national wisdom and economy? Is it a *poll tax*? Has a Stephen Girard or a William Bartlett no more to do with it all, than the man who copies his invoices or drives his dray? There is a beneficence, which consists in giving alms,—a sublime, a divine charity. But there is, also, a beneficence of acquisition as well as of communication. It may be *more* blessed to give; but it is blessed to receive. He may be doing good who is gathering together, no less than he who is scattering abroad. Peevish discontent, or wicked ambition, would provoke unkind feeling toward the successful in every line of life, who, by pains and perseverance, have reached the envied eminence of wealth. But let us repress this spirit; it becomes us not; it is as unpatriotic as it is unchristian. Wealth is a talent, a great power; inherited or acquired, it is bestowed for good and noble ends; and, by whomsoever possessed, is accompanied with great anxieties and responsibilities. He will indulge least in declaiming upon its vanity or its immorality, who best understands its uses and its power. It may be abused, as what gift may not? One is

obliged, sometimes, to blush and hang his head at the sight of reasoning and spiritual beings paying their devotion to a golden image. I hardly know which most to condemn, the good natured, generous man, who, involved by carelessness or vanity in hopeless embarrassment, adventures upon dishonesty and crime, to escape humiliation and disgrace; or the man, who, technically just to the splitting of a hair, prospered by carefulness and parsimony and legal extortion, growing earthly as he grows gray, and cankered and corroded by the rust of silver and gold, narrows a capacious soul to one gross passion, and buries himself before he dies. God be Judge between them. But of capital, with all its liabilities to abuse, every man receives the benefit. It is capital that secures his personal liberty, that rewards his industry, that educates his children. And capital will build a Rail-Road, not for the oppression of the public, but for their convenience. We can all do something else better than carry freights to Boston as cheap as Rail-Roads enable the proprietors to do it. We permit them, therefore, to do it for us, just as we employ others to make shoes for us, so long as we can do something else better than we can make them for ourselves, and buy our clothes, when our wives and daughters can do better than to make them, at present prices. These roads take the travel from other roads, because the public find it good economy to use them. When the Western Canal was first opened it was covered with scows, by the farmers carrying their own products; but it was soon found that they could earn more and save money by paying freight to the regular line boats; and the scows were laid up on the shore.

In reference to this subject the common mistake is committed, of confounding capital with money. Money is capital; but so, also, is land; so is machinery. A very small part of the capital of a country is in money. The farmer is a capitalist; the manufacturer is a capitalist. Much the largest part of our capital is in our real estate, diffused over the whole face of the land, and giving substantial independence and power to the yeomanry, the industrious, enterprising agriculturists and mechanics of the country. These classes, thriving and flourishing under a fostering government, and, gradually improving their estates, are, at the same time, laying by, annually, more or less of their revenue in the form of money. Others from inclination, or inability to pursue active business, and having means already acquired by their own hands, or inherited from their ancestors, have their whole property in money, and live on the interest. There is, of course, always a certain amount of capital in quest of investment. But this capital is by no means in few hands. It is most abundant in large places, but it is accumulating every where. Being always at command, and convertible again into

money, if well invested, it is an object of general desire and convenience, as a provision against the accidents of life, and for the setting up of sons or the setting out of daughters. A large part of it is the property of widows and infants, of invalids and aged persons, and of literary and charitable institutions.

It should be borne in mind, too, that, under our institutions, estates are divided equally among the children of the deceased; and, once in about thirty years, the whole capital of the community passes through the Probate office for distribution among heirs, not always educated to add to the dangers of accumulation, in exact proportion to the amount of their patrimony.

It can with no propriety be said, therefore, that Rail-Roads put the business of the country into dangerous hands, or into few hands, or into the hands of monied men. The business of no considerable part of the population is at all diminished by their influence. It is somewhat changed, but increased rather than diminished. It is done to more advantage to all concerned. It is this very circumstance that brings them into use. They offer an inviting mode of investment for the capital of those, in town or country, who choose to own stock rather than land, or ships, or cotton mills.

The general effect of public improvements of all kinds, and especially of roads and canals, is to equalize property and happiness, not to accumulate them in a privileged order, or a fortunate few. Human beings are essentially the same every where, the same bone and muscle, the same nerve and soul. But placed by Providence in very different circumstances, we are unequally developed and unequally privileged. We are not all close by the Grand Banks, or the coal mines, the rice swamps, or the cane brakes, the wheat fields, or the mountain pastures, the sea port and the city. From the fountains gushing forth in favored spots some must be farther off than others. And whatever tends to lessen this difference of condition, by annihilating distance and overcoming difficulty, tends just so far to diffuse and equalize the blessings of life.

It is less than a century since the first canal was cut in England; her common roads were then extremely bad; Rail-Roads have become common within a much shorter time. Now, the country is traversed by them in every direction. But though strictly of a commercial character, they have affected agriculture no less than commerce, the country no less than the city. Within this period the whole face of England has been changed. Its agriculture, from being extremely rude and unproductive, has become wonderfully perfect, falling short, in no degree, of its unparalleled manufactures. A naturally barren soil has become a garden.

It is estimated that the annual agricultural products of England amount to \$660,000,000. Its territory is a little larger than the State of Maine; it would hardly be visible on a map of the United States. And yet the agricultural products of our whole country are but \$640,000,000.

We are apt to feel that New England is overstocked—a hive too full, and already obliged to drive out its young swarms to forage among the fresh flowers of the Western Prairies. New England full! Her population may be doubled, and trebled, by the use of her inexhaustible water power—the manufacture of her own raw material, and the improvement of her soil. Open the markets of the world to our mountain glens and hamlets, bring these basins of fertile intervals, these mineral riches, these living streams, to an easy and intimate intercourse with the great centres of trade and enterprise, and in half a century we should scarcely know our native land. A new impulse would be felt, at once, in its agriculture and all its institutions. We should be better fed and better clothed and better educated, as a people. The period of the practical arts, of science applied to navigation, and to inland communication, is the very period most distinguished, in history, for the rise of the middling and lower classes, for the distribution of wealth, and the division of power. And the countries most distinguished for the extent of their sea coast, their navigable and artificial channels of communication, are the countries most remarkable for competence, independence, and comfort in the masses of society. Compare England and Holland with Poland and Austria. The latter have few natural facilities of commerce and bad roads; the former, the most perfect means of external and domestic intercourse. In the latter we are struck with the spectacle of fine races of men, with a good soil, and not without seats of learning and schools of art, doomed to general poverty and positive misery; in the former, we see a powerful aristocracy and time honored institutions yielding, gradually, but inevitably, to the growing importance of the industrious classes—the city submitting to the country—the government to the people.

It is objected again, that Rail-Roads, by introducing manufactures into the heart of the country, divert industry from the primitive, healthful and moral pursuits of agriculture, and bring on us the vices and miseries of manufacturing and commercial places. To this it is obvious to reply, that, without commerce or manufactures, agriculture soon reaches a natural limit. Manufactures and commerce open vents for its surplus products, and by thus increasing the demand for them, stimulate production, awaken ingenuity to improve processes of agriculture, and cheapen its means and implements.

The introduction of manufactures into the interior of the country, by

occasioning an increased consumption of the materials of building, of fuel, of the various ores, of provisions and other articles required in these establishments, have the effect of bringing the market to the farmer, instead of obliging the farmer to go to the market. In the case of the manufacture of his own products into articles for his own consumption, as of wool into cloth, he saves the expense of a double transportation,—that of the raw material to the town, and that of the manufacture back again.

Of the comparative *moral* effects of agriculture and manufactures, it is not easy to speak with entire confidence. It has been the fashion, for some years, to represent manufacturing places as peculiarly immoral. Mr. Southey has taken particular pains, in several of his works, to exhibit the great manufacturing towns of England, in a light sufficiently deplorable and humiliating. It is not necessary to deny the general truth of these representations. It must be admitted, that, whilst the immense production of England sustains a vast amount of life, and comfort, and luxury, the mere laborer, at wages, in distinction from the owner of the soil, and the manufacturer—in distinction, too, from the tenant, and the subtenant,—the mere day laborer, is an unhappy and oppressed man. That he lives, at all, however, he owes to the productiveness of his country; that he shares no more of the fruits and blessings of his own industry, he owes to the yet uncorrected defects of the government.

A writer in the last number of the Westminster Review maintains the opposite doctrine, and undertakes to show, from public documents, that the advantage, in point of intelligence and morals, is rather in favor of the manufacturing than of the agricultural districts of England. Manufactures, of course, tend to concentrate population in towns, and, therefore, to foster the peculiar evils bred in towns. But, with all the immoralities and wretchedness of some portions of the population of England, it is usually understood that, especially if taken in connexion with Scotland, a manufacturing country also, she presents on the whole a population decidedly better educated, better principled and happier than the countries more exclusively agricultural, as Austria, Poland, Spain, and even France.

In New England, so far as time has allowed the experiment to be made, the evils predicted as likely to result from the introduction of manufactures, have, certainly, not been realized. The education and morals of our large manufacturing places seem not to be, in the least, behind those of other New-England villages. Besides, as our facilities of internal communication are increased, villages will be multiplied and smaller. The advantages of town and country will be more combined.

Population will be concentrated enough to secure the benefits of schools, lectures, and intelligent intercourse; and yet allow a free air, the wholesome restraints of a pure public sentiment; and, above all, the formation of associations with home and the scenes of home, with the school house and the play ground, with mill and stream, with the church and the church yard—associations, which brighten as they grow old, and which, amid our cares and temptations, never cease to attract us to the principles of our parents and the examples of our childhood.

It is important to remark, in this connexion, that, in an improved state of society, we are more dependent for instruction upon art than nature. The outward world teaches us, comparatively, less, and the schools and society more. A scattered agricultural community is more conversant with the material works of God; but it is in villages, in more compact society, that the means of the highest mental culture are enjoyed. The village, becomes, of course, the centre of an elevating and improving influence to the country around. There are great lessons in the Book of Nature. I love her open face and genial smiles. She speaks to us, always, of the great, the holy, and the superhuman. "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." The seasons teach a deep morality. But MAN—is not man a part of nature? Is he not the superior, the sublimer, the most instructive part? In a cultivated age, there are no such spectacles to attract our wonder, and elevate our views, as are afforded by the institutions and achievements of human art. There is, no where else, such instruction as that of disciplined and active mind. Our great school, is the theatre of human life, where the strong efforts of mind are made, and its triumphs over matter achieved. A lower culture, an instinctive wisdom, a respectable intelligence, an amiable contentment, may adorn the lovely retirement of the mountain cottage; but our ideas of this solitary felicity are more than half borrowed from the poets. It is only among men, mechanical, or agricultural, or literary—it is only as they are associated, as mind converses with mind, and hearts are kindled by mutual contact or collision—that the higher forms of character are brought out.

Our towns and villages, no doubt, present more disgusting forms of vice and misery than the country around; but it is to be borne in mind, that the unprincipled and dissolute flock from the rural, thinly settled districts to the populous places, in quest of facilities of indulgence. They seek the concealment, and the opportunities of plunder, which a city affords. And, without doubt, evil is more concentrated and pestiferous, as population is more dense; example is more dangerous, and temptation more insidious. But the very circumstances, which give increased energy to the principles of vice, give equally increased ener-

gy to the elements of intelligence, virtue, and piety. From the centres of society issue streams of living water, as well as of fire. Of all conditions of society, I can hardly imagine any so unexceptionable, so nearly perfect, as we have, already, in some degree enjoyed, and, with the improvements now in progress, are likely still more to enjoy, in New England—the condition of a *rural village* population, combining, in a good degree, the intelligence, the enterprize, the associated moral power, and the rational amusements and enjoyments of the city, no longer a dismal way off, with the clear skies, the fragrant air, the early hours, the simple habits, the individual importance of the country.

Whatever, therefore, may be the actual condition of the manufacturing towns of England, or the tendency of manufactures to concentrate society, it is manifest, that, sooner or later, a great agricultural country will, of course, become also a manufacturing country, as its population increases; and that, of the two, it is better to have manufactures diffused, in small establishments, than to have them concentrated in populous cities—better to have a multitude of neat, bright, quiet villages, than to have a few crowded, smoky, stifled towns—better, for the intelligence and morals of the community, to encourage the establishment of many little centres of trade and concourse, among the hills, than to oblige a whole people to seek a market in a few enormous cities.

Having detained you so long, gentlemen, upon the general influence of this new mode of conveyance, I pass to the particular effects of the proposed road from Boston to Burlington, through the capitals of New-Hampshire and Vermont. And, in the first place, it is worthy of remark, that this route is liable to be superceded by no other. If once constructed, it will be the highest that can ever be expected to cross the Connecticut River. Should one be ultimately made up the valley of the river, it would only increase the travel upon this, by virtually extending one of its arms into the upper country; and should the enterprize of the southern and western part of Vermont build a road through Rutland to Fitchburg, the shortest and most inviting direction from Burlington will, still, be along the Onion and White Rivers, the Mascomy, the Blackwater and the Merrimack, great natural channels through the highlands of both states, hardly deviating from a straight line, and, according to actual survey, no where presenting an ascent of sixty feet to a mile, and, for but a few miles in the whole distance, of even thirty feet to the mile, whilst a very considerable part of the way is nearly level. By this central road we accommodate ten of the fourteen counties of this state. These ten counties contribute five eighths of the annual production of the state.

In the second place, the mere construction of the work itself would be of no little use to these states. Of the \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000, to be expended in it, a large amount must be paid, for timber and provisions and labor, to our farmers and mechanics. During the period of its construction, new activity will thus be given to every kind of business on the route.

In the third place, it will open a market for timber, now standing in great quantities, but nearly valueless, in many towns through or near which it will pass. Even firewood and charcoal are now carried from Concord to Lowell and Boston; of course, with a cheap mode of conveyance, these articles could be carried from the towns above Concord to the same market, besides being consumed in large quantities for the use of the road itself, and by the establishments all along erected for the convenience of the neighboring country.

In the fourth place, some of our best crops and most congenial to our soil, now excluded from market, or carried to market in small quantities, would be, at once, in demand to an almost unlimited amount. Hay was last year carried from Enfield to Concord, a distance of near fifty miles, and paid a very good profit; corn and oats are carried still farther. Much more would be carried, and from greater distances, upon a cheaper road. On the other hand, important articles, the cost of which now limits their use among us, would be brought in greater abundance from the seaboard.

It is in point here to remark, also, that the principle that division of labor increases production, so important in the arts, has but a limited application to agriculture. Indeed, the reverse, even, is true here. The agriculturalist should rather study to unite than to separate the processes involved in his pursuits. It would not do for one man to raise hay, and another to make butter and cheese; one to grow corn, and another to fatten pork. The true economy is rather, as far as possible, to do all together on the same farm, so as to secure, to the utmost, the advantages of consumption as well as production, and to combine the profits of different but perfectly consistent operations. It is better to turn off fat cattle than lean; better to sell pork than store shoats; better to raise and mature a fine two year old than to give somebody else at a distance the profit of doing it; better to fatten your mutton and your beef than to sell your grain and your hay. And the more perfectly all this is done, so much the better economy it is. The best things of their kind, the fattest meats, the nicest butter, are always cheapest to the buyer and most profitable to the producer—they find the quickest market and bring the highest price. A man may work three hundred days in the year on the eye of a needle; and he will earn the more for it;

he saves time and acquires facility by it. But you cannot mow, or plough, or reap the year round. So that, in respect to division of labor, the farmer essentially differs from the manufacturer. After the toils of summer and autumn, he has license to perfect his harvest for the winter market, and may fill up time, otherwise really lost, in consuming his own products on his own farm, and thus enriching that farm itself, whilst he is, at the same time, reducing the bulky produce of the field, expensive to transport, to the precise form, in which it is most easily conveyed to market, and most wanted when it arrives there. Why are droves of lean cattle and swine driven, all the fall, from the extremities of Vermont and New-Hampshire to the vicinity of Boston, and the grain of these same states transported to fatten them upon? How much better for us to prepare them here, and put the profits into our own pockets. It is a false idea, that the market requires poor beef: it consumes it for want of better; but never really prefers bone and cartilage to muscle and tallow. Bring us near the market, and we can prepare our products for the market, as well as the people of Massachusetts.

Again: this road will, in time, without doubt, become the most convenient thoroughfare between Boston and the Canadas. Montreal is to be the seat of government for these provinces. For half the year, communication with the ocean, through the St. Lawrence, is suspended by frost; and even in summer, a good deal of intercourse is now carried on by the public stages, between Montreal and Boston, in consequence of the steam navigation between Boston and Liverpool. Should the projected road from Port Kent to Ogdensburg be completed, and, especially, if a road should be built connecting Lake Ontario with Lake Huron, or should Montreal be connected with Lake Huron, Boston would stand a fair chance to share with New-York the immense trade of the Lakes and of that fine country on their northern shores, not inferior, it is said, to Ohio, or Illinois, in which lie, yet undiscovered, the principal resources of Upper Canada.

It is, also, a fact of importance, that the Road is actually made as far as Concord, and the stock, even of the upper sections, selling at 20 and 30 per cent. advance. It is, moreover, important to be considered, that other parts of the country are rapidly increasing their facilities of communication of all kinds, and even connecting themselves, by these means, with our own market. It is not so much a question with us, whether good roads are beneficial to the country, as whether a part of the country, without them, can maintain a competition, in the same market, against parts of the country with them. If we are in danger of being undersold in Boston by Ohio and Illinois, it gives us little advantage, in this emulation, to be obliged to pay unnecessary freight.

Another argument for this undertaking is the probable effect of such a work of public utility and personal enterprize on the spirit and bearing of these sister States. In point of territory, as to extent or fertility, we have nothing to boast of. We stand well enough, it is true, in these respects, among the Eastern States. But the whole of New England is but a point on the map of the Union. For the past we have nothing to fear; it is matter of history. And we have nothing to ask. When the scene we have acted in the drama of American History ceases to command respect and admiration in any part of the continent, admiration and respect will not be worth asking for. But for the future—the great American future—what have we to rely on? What but the achievements of our industry, the perfection of our institutions, our mental and moral character? If we would retain the respect of our children, and our own respect, we must be able to point them, and to point the world, not to what nature has done for us, but to what we have done for nature. True we have a narrow foundation, but it is solid, and "*cujus est solum, ejus ad cælum*," which means, "there is room enough to expand upwards."

There are some things of which these States can never be deprived. There is our great natural water-power. There are our materials, in the earth and the forest, for all manner of cunning work. There is our great New England market; in which the grass fed beef of Vermont is allowed to be the best in the world; in which the butter and cheese of Vermont are unsurpassed, and, with the exception of the "Goshen butter," and that from the county of Worcester in Massachusetts, unequalled; in which the pork and lard of Vermont, in common with the rest of New England, have no competition, for family consumption, even under all our disadvantages of communication. There is our wool, the finest and softest in the market, and destined to be so always; for it is a settled fact, I understand, that calcareous soils, a damp atmosphere, a level and a sunny country are unfavorable to the perfection of wool. England has nearly discontinued the growth of fine wools; Spain, herself, where the merino has been cultivated ever since the decline of Rome, has fallen quite into the back ground; and Germany—the mountains of Saxony and Prussia, supply nearly all the fine wools for the London market, amounting to twenty-five or thirty millions of pounds a year. Ours, also, are the aerial heights, the dwelling places of the Gods and the nurseries of heroes. Of these, all these, no competition can deprive us. With these, husbanded and cherished with patriotic pride, nothing really good, among the objects of sublunary pursuit, nothing worth ambition, shall be impossible to us. Indolent and dejected, New Hampshire and Vermont will see their sons instinctively aban-

don their falling fortunes; but rising, and brightening, and attaching to themselves general regard and admiration, they will see those same sons instinctively clinging around them, and counting it enough to be children of the fathers in the land of the fathers.

May I not add, finally, that, in connexion with these advantages which suppose no miracle, but seem really and in the natural course of things likely to follow from the contemplated improvement, there will spring up, with equal certainty, a rich harvest of moral and social blessings, to two kindred, and, to us at least, most interesting States of the Union? Passing through the capitals and many of the principal towns of both States, will it not serve to connect the extremities of both with their respective centres of influence and intelligence; to raise the standard of education and character, by a freer intercourse of cultivated minds; to enlarge and elevate the institutions of learning and religion, by supplying more abundantly the means of their support; and to unite, in closer ties, communities naturally one?

With the Lake on the West and the sea on the East, New Hampshire and Vermont, Mr. President, lie side by side, united rather than divided by the noble river, which flows along their whole length. Included, nearly, within the same parallels of latitude, they enjoy a common climate, somewhat sterner than that of Massachusetts and Connecticut, but decidedly less rigorous and forbidding than that of Maine. They exhibit, in general, the same physical features—rising on opposite sides of the Connecticut, from rich meadow lands, equalled, in fertility and beauty, only by the shores of the Delaware and the Mohawk, into immense ranges of mountain pasture and woodland, equalled nowhere; sloping off on the West to the Lake and the Hudson, and to the Ocean on the East; settled for the most part, from the same primitive seats in Massachusetts and Connecticut, by young adventurers in husbandry, who chose rather to carve out a farm for themselves from the wilderness, than to settle on a corner of the homestead,—they have maintained from the first a common character—have been equally distinguished, in peace and in war, through their whole history, for hardy enterprise and patient industry, for public spirit and domestic virtue, for intelligence and happiness.

It is one of the blessings of the Union, of which these States are members, that political lines do not necessarily obliterate such natural sympathies. We may belong to New Hampshire, or Vermont, and never know the difference. The Connecticut is, to all important ends, as much a river of Vermont, as if the line of the State ran along its eastern instead of its western border. State jealousies and animosities are merged in the feeling of a common relation to a common Government.

—a feeling of mutual interest and esteem as children of a common parent.

The importance of this mutual interest and respect, between independent States, is well illustrated by the occasion which has called us together to-day. New Hampshire happens to lie between Vermont and our great New England market. The people of your State must cross our territory in their way to that market. You can indeed go round us, but your natural channels of trade and intercourse are through New Hampshire. On the other hand, we are equally dependent upon you. If we allow you our highway, we have the profit of the travel. You cannot use our roads or canals without paying for them. In some cases you pay directly in the form of a toll; this is the course of our canals and railways and turnpike roads. Upon all these your custom is so much profit to our State. Upon common roads you pay us indirectly, by enlarging the market for our various produce, at our own doors, and giving activity to the capital invested in public stages and public houses, and to our smiths and carpenters, and other artisans supported, in some degree, by the great apparatus for transportation of persons and merchandize through the state.

In another point of view, also, we are interested as a state, in furnishing facilities and inducements to the citizens of Vermont to pass to market over our soil. For all great enterprizes, the capital must be obtained mostly from the cities, and in the case of these states, from the city of Boston. It must be so, because the money accumulated in the country is continually flowing to the towns. The lawyer, who has been so fortunate as to reach, at once, the eminence of fame and of wealth by his country practice, gathers up his gains and removes to the city. The country merchant, who begins to reckon by tens of thousands, is apt to emigrate to the city, and leave his country store in the hands of a son or nephew. For men of larger means, the city presents strong attractions. If they seek the gratifications which wealth alone can buy, they find them in perfection there. If they pant for higher enterprizes and more extended operations, the opportunities for such enterprizes are opened and presented there. Even those, who, having amassed a fortune, prefer to remain where they earned it, send their capital, for investment, to the city. There is there a mode of doing business, an exactness, a system, a comprehensiveness of plan, which are agreeable to men of large means, and which cannot, without infinite perplexity, be secured in the country. The consequence is that money, always accumulating in Boston, is always in quest of investment; and all our great country enterprizes are sustained by Boston capital.

Now, if money is wanted for a Rail-Road, in New-Hampshire, we

must show, that it will be safely and profitably invested there. To show this, we must exhibit the map of the State; must estimate for exports and imports; must describe her relation to Vermont, and the Canadas, and the Western Lakes. We must make it appear, that, in all probability, she is destined to be an important thoroughfare for a flourishing and growing country behind and above her, as well as fruitful of resources in herself. When this is made plain to sharp-sighted and calculating men, there will be no want of capital at our command. Money is never scarce where it can be well invested. It flows to such places as naturally and as certainly as water to the ocean. It is clear enough then that New-Hampshire and Vermont have an interest in the great Road, which is proposed for connecting this northwestern country, more immediately, with the capital of New-England. It is the true interest of both States to consult together, to weigh together the comparative advantages of different routes, for the accommodation and advancement of the entire population. Of the claims of this or that particular route, others are more competent to speak than I. Indeed, it is not easy to speak at all upon this matter, until actual surveys have been made, distances ascertained with precision, obstacles estimated, and the general face of the country, and the natural direction of business, ascertained by patient observation and reflection. So far as I have hoped to do any thing for the promotion of the enterprize, it has been rather by presenting some general considerations, fitted to inspire confidence in the utility of the work, and to awaken an enlightened zeal among the people, than by any geographical or statistical information in my power to give.

If the work be carried on at all, it must be carried on by the earnest exertions of intelligent and efficient men. The majority of society will not go forward. They are well enough disposed; proper men, good citizens; in an emergency, they would rise up armed and disciplined, by instinct, to do battle for their country. But it is only when strong passions are excited, when grinding oppression is felt, or liberty insulted, that the mass of mind and energy is roused. That form of thought which is busied in meditating the undeveloped capacities of a country, foreseeing the distant results of the quiet changes of human society, is rare; but one man in a hundred evinces much of it. That one is the truly wise, and, if his forecasting intellect be sanctified by love, the truly good and great among that hundred. A few such in a town, give it character; to such its enterprize and prosperity are, in no small measure, to be ascribed. They need not be learned in the forms of the schools; they need not be gifted with the attributes of genius. A clear head, patient inquiry, willingness to take responsibility, ever living industry, directed and nourished by a strong ambition to be use-

ful, by a sincere desire to do good—these are traits of the truest greatness. Superior to despair, unsubdued by difficulty, never weary, they command respect; they form public opinion; they direct public enterprise; they hold the keys that unlock the public treasures. If the great work, which we contemplate, is achieved, it will be by the energy and zeal of such men, in the first instance, arousing and concentrating public sentiment, and demonstrating the utility and importance of the enterprise.

To men of this description, assembled for consultation here to-day, permit me to say, that an opportunity, so favorable to effect the object, has never before occurred, and if neglected, may not occur again for half a century. By a singular coincidence, at the very moment, when the history of public roads in Europe and this country is strikingly demonstrating their influence on public prosperity; at the very moment, when, in New-England, especially, the construction of Rail-Roads has become a favorite mode of investment, and stock in them is bearing a higher price in the market than any other; at this very crisis, there is, for several reasons, all accidental and temporary, a singular and unprecedented abundance of capital—of capital seeking permanent investment. Events may, in no long time, entirely change this propitious state of things. This now idle capital may be invested somewhere, invested in establishments from which it cannot be readily withdrawn; and this part of New-England be left to suffer the disadvantages of expensive transportation, in our competition with other more favored portions of the country, for years and years to come.

I am not anxious to see New-Hampshire and Vermont running wild with the enthusiasm of adventure, and entailing burdens on successive generations. I do not suppose, that Rail-Roads and manufactures are to work any magical improvement of this sterile, austere, rugged and alpine land. We shall still be "the Switzerland of America;" but let us not forget, that the Switzerland of the old world herself, is made one of the most productive, most intelligent, happiest people of Europe, by these very facilities of communication. We have been compared, perhaps, with yet greater propriety, to Scotland; and it is not a little to my purpose to be able to add, that one of the most remarkable changes in the condition of that picturesque, agricultural country, is now actually taking place, under the influence of the roads and canals, which the Government has, within a few years past, carried up into the midst of its romantic highlands. The immediate consequence of this judicious, paternal policy, has been to call out from this sterile and neglected portion of the kingdom, hitherto famous for nothing but ferocity in war and wretchedness in peace, some of the sweetest verdure, and richest fruits of British husbandry.

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